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ON

GRANT DUFF'S

HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS"

BY

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PREFACE TO THE NEW EDITION.

Among the various Histories of India and of the Indian people no unimportant place must be assigned to GRANT-DUFF'S **History of the Mahrattas.** Other works have, of course, been written bearing more or less directly on that warlike race. Their story, or the greater part of it, may be learnt from the well-known histories of Mill, Elphinstone, Orme, Wilks and Scott. Moreover, there are works dealing more particularly with them and the wars in which they have been engaged, such as those by Lord Wellesley, Waring, Blacker, Broughton, Thorn, Tone, Elphinstone and others. But Grant-Duff's monumental History, as has been truly remarked, was written under exceptionally favourable circumstances. For one thing, it was the work of a Military Officer in the Hon. East India Company's service, who united to that position the Civil office of Political Resident or Representative of the Company at the Court of the Peishwa's successor, when the Confederacy, so long dreaded througout the country, had been broken up as the result of the last Mahratta War and the deposition of the chief Mahratta Prince. At Poona, Grant-Duff came officially into possession of the most important State documents as well as the correspondence of the Peishwas. Subsequently, the Satara Government records were placed in his charge, while many other papers of historical importance, of whose existence the Peishwa himself knew nothing, were made over to him by the Raja. Grant-Duff was granted free access to the Bombay and Surat records as well as to those at the Portuguese settlement of Goa, and the officials even relieved him of the labour of wading through them by furnishing him with copies of whatever documents were necessary for his purposes. He also acquired a mass of information from various manuscripts in the vernaculars, which were either presented to or purchased by him.

The work opens with some preliminary observations upon the geography, religion, learning, early history and institutions of the Mahratta country. The history proper begins in 1000 A. D. with the conquest of the Deccan by the Mahomedans. After the

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latter had finally established themselves in Central India, there sprang up in the Deccan five independent States which were soon reduced to three kingdoms, *viz.*, Ahmednuggur, Bijapore and Golconda. Of the first of these, the King, Burahan Nizam Shah, conferred upon a Brahmin, Kawarseen by name, the office of Peishwa or Prime Minister—hence the title assumed by the head of the Mahratta Confederacy, as well as the origin of the influence acquired by Brahmins in the Government of those States. The national hero of the Mahrattas is, of course, the celebrated Sivaji, who, in the middle of the seventeenth century, assumed the title of Raja. He then consolidated the Government and framed those institutions which distinguished the system of the Mahrattas which Grant-Duff has succinctly detailed. The author concludes his history of Sivaji's exploits with an analysis of his character. The historian then fully details the events which succeeded, down to the subjugation of the race by the British. The work concludes with the settlement of the Peishwa's territory in 1818-19 under the administration of the Marquess of Hastings.

A few words regarding the author himself may not be uninteresting. James Cuninghame Grant was the eldest son of John Grant, Esqr., of Kinkardine O'Neill, by Margaret Miln-Duff, his wife, heiress of the Duffs of Eden, Co. Banff. On his mother's death, in 1825, he succeeded to the Eden estates, and then assumed the additional name of Duff. Born at Banff on the 8th July 1789, he was educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and having been appointed to an infantry cadetship on the Bombay establishment in 1804, he came out to India early in 1806; it was not, however, until February 1807 that he was granted the rank of Ensign, and having then been posted to the 1st Battalion of the 1st Bombay Native Infantry (the "Grenadier Battalion"), he, in July 1809, took part with the flank companies of that corps in the capture by storm of the fort of Mellia, in Katiawar. He subsequently, having attained the rank of Lieutenant in November 1811, became Adjutant and Interpreter of the 1st Native Infantry, and, later, Assistant to Mountstuart Elphinstone, the then Resident at Poona, who entertained no mean opinion of his capabilities. He was with Mountstuart Elphinstone at Poona when the outbreak of November 1817 took place and the Peishwa's Army made a sudden attack on Colonel Burr's brigade at Kirki: in the sharp engagement which then ensued he, as recorded by Colonel Burr in his despatch, "most handsomely volunteered his services" as an orderly officer on the Colonel's staff "and particularly distinguished himself throughout the action." He was subsequently present, in attendance on Mountstuart Elphinstone, at the defeat of the Peishwa and the capture of Poona, and in various other actions of the Mahratta War of

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1817-18. In December 1819 he was promoted to the rank of Captain. He afterwards became Resident at Satara, which State he administered in the name of its Raja, and concluded treaties with the Jaghirdars. Having previously returned home on furlough and brought out his famous work, he retired from the service on the 12th May 1827. Captain Grant-Duff died on the 23rd September 1858, aged 69 years. His elder son, the late Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant-Duff, was Governor of Madras from 1881 to 1886.

Having lived among the Mahrattas for years, Grant-Duff came to understand their peculiar character. He was an eminently practical man and combined all the qualifications necessary for a Political Agent. Imperial and benevolent, he had deligently studied the people in the camp as well as in the ryots' fields. By means of old and dusty office-records he scanned the past, that he might rightly understand the present—for, as borne out by no less an authority than Sir Henry Lawrence, his grand object was the TRUTH. Little wonder then, that it has been claimed for his work that it stands foremost among works on special periods of Indian history, and "takes its place in the very first rank of historical compositions." Among other leading authorities who have spoken of the work in the highest terms are the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Richard Temple Mr. Justice Ranade, Mr. Meredith Townsend, and Professor Sidney Owen.

A note-worthy feature of the book is its complete Index. The History was translated into Mahratti by Captain (afterwards General Sir David) Capon (Bombay, 1830). After the original edition of 1826, published in England, had been exhusted, the work was reprinted at Bombay no fewer than three times, in 1863, 1873 and 1878 respectively. Nevertheless, it soon ran out of *print*, thus clearly indicating beyond all doubt, if indeed any such proof were needed, that the work was no less popular than valuable. For thirty years and more it has been out of print, and copies, if procurable, would to-day realise very high prices. When one comes into the market it fetches between £3 & £4. In order, therefore, to bring the work within the easy reach of Students of History, Antiquarians and the reading public, R. Cambray & Co. have decided to republish it at a moderate price.

An entirely new feature is presented by the Annotations appended to each of the three volumes, which embodying, as they do, *the* result of modern research, will no doubt be found most *helpful* both to the student of Indian History and the general reader. The Publishers may consider themselves fortunate in having secured for this purpose the services of that eminent

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Mahratta scholar, Rai B. A. Gupte, Bahadur, who is already widely known owing to his connection with the Victoria Memorial Collection and his Ethnographical researches.

The thanks of the Publishers are specially due to the Hon. Justice Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee and Dr. E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., for their kindly encouragement and advice which are gratefully appreciated, as well as to Mr. G. W. de Rhé-Philipe of Simla and Mr. E. W. Madge of the Imperial Library for valuable assistance received from them.

It only remains to be added, in conclusion, that the portrait of the Author, which has never before been published, is the generous gift of his grandson, Mr. Evelyn Mountstuart Grant Duff, C.M.G., H. B. M's. Consul-General for Hungary.

CALCUTTA,
July 1, 1912.

T. D. KERR,
Proprietor of
R. CAMBRAY & CO.

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INTRODUCTION.

The previous editions of Grant Duff's *History of the Maràthas* have all been published without notes. I was asked by Mr. E. W. Madge of the Imperial Library to help Messrs. R. Cambray & Co., the publishers of the 4th re-issue of that work, by adding selected notes at the end of each of the three volumes. They were 'to embody the result of modern research.' Mr. Madge himself a great lover of Indian History and a well-read scholar, was asked by the publishers to write these notes but he suggested my name instead "*as being better acquainted with Maràtha History.*" I do not share this opinion, nor do I accept another missile, viz., "*You are known as a monument of Indian History, especially of your Presidency,*" but I did agree to undertake the work for "the love of the thing," as they say. How far I have succeeded, is for others to judge, but I am thankful to Mr. T. D. Kerr, the popular proprietor of Messrs. R. Cambray & Co., the well known law-publishers, as well as to Mr. Madge who proposed my name, for giving me a fresh opportunity of reviving my studies as a student of the history of this country.

Calcutta, 1st July, 1912. B. A. GUPTE.

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APPENDIX.

It is impossible to discuss in detail new facts-given by authors who have written on the History of the Marathas since the publication of these volumes. Within the space allotted to me, I can only add a few broad features which are vouchsafed by European writers with one worthy exception, I mean Mr. Justice Ràmade. Volumes of Marathi Bakhars, State documents, private letters and diaries have recently been published. They supply valuable material for the close study of the history of these people, and I beg to refer studious readers to such publications for details. My stray notes have been classified into, Personal, Territorial and Administrative.

Of the persons concerned, none stands higher than Shivàji—the founder of the Empire. What was he like? Grose tells us that Shivàji was "fair, lean, and wiry". Mr. R. B. Worthington records that "In the walls of the fort of Sindhudurg in Malvan, prints of Shivàji's hands and feet are held in reverence.' He saw them himself. They are protected by small domes. "But," says he, "for their smallness, these prints are very accurate representations of a hand and foot". Mr. Worthington adds his worthy testimony to the fact that Shivàji was a small and wiry man We can therefore accept the other part of Grose's assertion that he was 'fair'—that is, a member of one of the superior castes. He was the son of a Ràja. His father was Shàhaji Ràja Bhomsla. He had no sacred thread, and that omission was supplied at his coronation. Sir James Campbell* says "By lavish bounty to Brahmans and by scrupulous observances of religious ceremonial, Shivàji was, by Gàgàbhatt a learned Brahman from Benares, raised to the highest place among Kshatriyas". As long as the history of the evolution of man as propounded by Ethnologists, has been accepted, this rise to the higher rung of the social ladder marks an era, and Maràthas proper have ever since, laid claim to that rank. The next person of importance was Bajirav Peshva. Who was then this person, it naturally suggests itself. He was a Brahman from a sea-coast village near Ratnàgiri. The Honourable Rào Sàheb V. N. Mandalik, C. I. E., a member of that community traces the origin of this caste from Egypt (Asiatic Society's Journal). They were foreigners; fair, intelligent, industrious and clever. They were looked down by the local

* Thana District Gazetteer, page 411.

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Brahmans and it was with great difficulty that a Deshastha could be persuaded to offer his daughter to a Peshva. But once having been accepted as Brahmans, the Peshvas could easily raise themselves to the highest social position with the wealth and influence they possessed. Sir James Campbell dwells at length on the question of raising foreigners to higher social ranks and this is an instance of that sort. Their superior intellect has enabled them to keep up that position even after their power has been demolished, and the Honourable Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C.I.E. is a bright example of what a Konkanasth Brahman is capable of. Foreigners at first, Konkanasthas at the second stage, and Poona Brahmans or Deccan Brahmans of the present generation, they illustrate how caste denominations do undergo change. The next ethnic group which played an important part in the history of the Màrathàs are the Prabhus. They also are foreigners, but of a more ancient date as all the Aryans of India are. Their caste-names also show their territorial migrations. For instance, Chàndraseni is the corruption of Chandrashreni, or that subdivision (*shreni*) which comes from the valley of the Chandra now known as the Chinàb. Then Kàyasth simply means residents of Kàya or Anga Desh that is Oude. They are also called Dàlbhyas which means that their next stage of migration was Dàlbhum. Lastly they are called Prabhus—which means lord, rulers, administrators. It will thus be seen that neither Shivàji whose family came from Rajputana, nor the Peshvas, who came from Egypt, nor the Prabhus who came from the valley of the Chinàb in Kashmir and Punjab via Oude and Dàlbhum, are the original residents of the tract they now claim as their "native land". Who then are the Maràthas ? The answer is "Maràthas are a conglomerate body of tribes and castes, who have settled themselves in the tract in which the present Maràthi language is spoken, and Grant Duff's History of the Maràthas is the history of this mixed ethnic group containing Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras and unclassified forest tribes. Maràtha therefore is not a caste in the 'Title' selected for this volume by Grant Duff.

The ethnic elements which constituted the personnel of the Maràtha nation has been described by Mr. Justice Ràmade. He says "The table-land of Mahàràshtra has been inhabited by a population in which the Aryans and Dravidians have been mixed in due proportion, so as to retain the good points of both without exaggerating their defects. In their physiognomy the people are not as fair or well-proportioned as the people in Northern India are; neither are they as black and hard-featured as the Southern Dravidian races. The *Aryan* element itself includes in Mahàràshtra a due mixture of the first settlers, as also of the subsequent Scythian invaders." Mr. Justice Rànade adds, that the Maho-

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medan rulers in the Deccan took Hindu wives in their harems. The seventh Bahmani King allied himself with the Vijayànagar family, and the ninth married the daughter of the Raja of Sonkhed. The first Bijàpur King took for his wife the sister of one Mukundràv, a Brahman. The first ruler of the Borid dynasty of Bidar got his son married to the daughter of one Sábáji Maràtha. The first Ahmednagar King was the son of a converted Brahman *Kulkarni* of Pàtri in Berar, whose family had entered the service of the Vijayanagar King. The Brahman surname Bhairav became Bahri, the distinguishing title of these kings, and they so faithfully remembered their origin that they conquered Pàtri and gave it in *inàm* to the Brahman Kulkarnis after a long struggle with the Berar rulers.*

Such was the personal element that existed in Maharashtra at the time of Shivàji. But "He did not create the Maràtha power; that power had been already created though scattered in small centres all over the country. He sought to unite it for a higher purpose". That is all.*

The *Bàrgirs* are the people next in importance in the History of the Maràthas. Bàrgir is not a caste. Any cavalry soldier who could not supply his own horse and who was therefore left in charge of an animal belonging to a higher soldier was a Bàrgir. He may have belonged to any caste. He was the dread of Bengal, where he was known as *Borgi*. Sir Herbert Risley gives a lucid description of this Borgi—this Maràtha cavalry officer. He says :—

The following notice of it in the new edition of *Hobson-Jobson* makes the matter clear :—"A trooper of irregular cavalry who is not the owner of his troop horse and arms (as is the normal practice) but is either put in by another person, perhaps a native officer in the regiment, who supplies horses and arms and receives the man's full pay, allowing him a reduced rate, or has his horse from the State in whose service he is. ["According to a man's reputation or connections, or the number of his followers, would be the rank *(mansab)* assigned to him. As a rule, his followers brought their own horses and other equipment; but sometimes a man with a little money would buy extra horses, and mount relations or dependents upon them. When this was the case, the man riding his own horse was called, in later parlance, a *Siledàr* (literally, "equipment-holder") and one riding somebody else's horse was a *bàrgir* ('burden-taker') *W. Irvine*, The Army of the Indian Moghuls, J. R. A. S. July 1896, p. 539.]

* Justice Ràna de's Rise of the Maràtha Power, page 32 38.

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It was the practice of the Maràtha *sardàrs* to allow their mercenaries to realise arrear pay by looting the country. and the word *bàrgir* thus passed into popular speech as the designation of a Marátha trooper. In Bengal it appears under the form *borgi* in the nursery rhyme intended to frighten a restless child—

Chhele ghumàlo, pàdà judàlo borgi elo deshe ;
Bulbulite dhàn kheyechhe, khājnã debo kishe,

which may be rendered—

The baby is sleeping, the village is still,
The *borgis* are riding around.

The bulbuls have eaten the grain in the ear—
Oh! how is the rent to be found?"*

The Màvlis and Hetkaris were local residents of the vallies of the Sahyàdri Range, and of the tract called Mával and Het respectively. Het is a country situated to the south of the River Sáwitri.

A man speaking Maràthi, is therefore the crucial test of a Maràtha. In the light of the recent linguistic survey, Grant Duff's boundaries of Mahàràshtra—the Maràthi-speaking people's and-have to be modified and Sir Herbert Risley's concise description supplies that want. It runs: "Maràthi, in its various "dialects, extends nearly across the Peninsula of India. In the "Bombay Presidency it covers the north of the Deccan Plateau, "and a strip of country between the Ghàts and the Arabian Sea, "extending to about a hundred miles south of Goa. It is also "the language of Beràr and of a good portion of the north-"west of His Highness the Nizàm's dominions. It stretches "across the south of the Central Provinces (except in a few "localities in the extreme south, where Telugu is the language), "and occupies also a great portion of Beràr. The population "returning the language is 18,237,899".†

SIDIS OR NEGROES.

"Nearly every season between 1672 and 1680, sometimes with leave, sometimes without, the Sidis came to Bombay to winter, that is to pass the stormy south-west monsoon (May-October). In 1674 they scared the people from Sion fort in the

* Sir Herbert Risley's Census of India 1901 Vol. I. page 94.
† Census of India. 1901, Vol. I, Part I.—Report, p. 314.

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north-east of the island of Bombay but were attacked by English troops, and agreement was made that no more than 300 of the Sidi's men were to remain on shore at one time and that none of them were to have any arms except a sword. These visits placed the English in an unpleasant dilemma. If they allowed the Sidis to land, they roused the suspicion and anger of Shivàji. If they forbad the Sidis landing, they displeased the Moghals." (Low's Indian Navy, Vol. I, pp. 62-63).

SHIVAJI'S CORONATION AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE BRITISH.

Shiváji's relations with the British East India Company were friendly. Anderson's English in Western India tells us at page 77, that:

"When Shiváji was crowned at Ráygad in 1674 an embassy "sent by the Bombay Government found him friendly. He "granted them leave to trade to any part of his territory on pay- "ing an import-duty of two and a half per cent; he allowed "them to establish factories at Ràjàpur, and Dabhol, in Ratnàgiri, "at Chaul in Kolàba, and at Kalyàn; and he arranged to make "good part of their losses from his sack of Rájápur."

In 1674 Shivàji burnt Karwar because the castle was not surrendered. The English factors were treated civily and no harm was done to the factory.*

In the year 1675 A. D. the English factory was taken, but no violence was done to the factors; and the country as far as the Gangavali River became subject to Shivàji.[1]

In 1670 the Portuguese defeated Shivàji at sea. But he came perilously near them on land, taking several forts in the north-east of Thana, attacking Ghodbandar in Salsette. This is the first mention of Shivàji's fleet. This advance of Shivàji's led the English to send him an envoy, and an alliance was agreed to, in which he promised to respect the English possessions.[2]

THE PORTUGUESE.

"The Portuguese in their warfare exhibited greater barbarity than Maràtha free-booters. They not only carried fire and sword into the defenceless villages, but destroyed the temples, and attempted to convert their prisoners by force" as Grant Duff himself says at page 315.

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* East India and Persia, pp. 146-147.

[1] Fryer.

[2] Anderson's English in Western India, pp. 76-77.

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THE MOGHALS.

Captain MacKintosh records in the Journal of the Bombay Geograpthical Society (Vol. I, pp. 241-242) that the ways of the Moghal army caused discontent and horror which made the Kolis of North Poona transfer their allegiance to the Hindu Kings. Khent, the Sar Nàik and many leading Kolis rose in rebellion. A Moghal army was sent into the hills, the hill-forts were strengthened and garrisoned, the people of this forest-tribe were hunted down and either made prisoners or slaughtered, the Saf Nàik and his clan were destroyed, and the prisoners were taken to Junnar and their heads cut off and piled into a pyramid and a platform built over them which is still known as the Black Platform or *Kāla Chabutra* (like the Black Hole of Calcutta).

"But the Mahomedan Rulers of the Deccan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not bigoted fanatics as is supposed. The rise of the Marátha power, was the upheaval of the whole population, strongly bound together by the common affinities of language, race, religion, and literature and seeking further solidarity by a common independent political existence. Regard for *Vatans*, in the old country has been a marked feature of Marátha character. It is the history of the formation of a true Indian nationality, raising its head high above the troubled waters of Mahomedan confusion. The fact was that like the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth century, there was a religious, social, and literary Revival and Reformation in India, but notably in the Duccan". Surely it was originally the history and progress of confederated states until the Peshva's government under Nàna Fadnavis, which was nick-named in the Courts of Hyderabad and Serringapattam as the *Bārābhāi* Government*—a clannish confederacy in which the relations and castemen of the Peshwas played a very prominent part. Justice Ranade defines *Bārābhāi* as the Government of the confederacy of Twelve Leaders, but Molesworth defers from him in this respect. "Bàràbhài was" Justice Ránade admits "a nick-name". According to Molesworth's Dictionary it means "the relations and castemen of the Ruling Ràja who are enlisted as soldiers to form a separate regiment or cavalry", with the difference that in *this* case they formed a Government.

I have thus tried to give the latest discription of the people of Mahàràshtra and will now add selections to show what sort of country do they live in.

The country of Mahàràshtra enjoys natural advantages of position and climate which are denied to the people of the low-

* Justice Ranade's Rise of the Mahatha Power, pp. 6, 7, 8, 10.

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lands and the valleys of the Ganges, the Indus and the other great rivers which flow into the Arabian Sea or the Indian Ocean. The characteristic features of the Mahàràshtra country are the great mountain ranges which enclose it on two sides—the Sahyàdri Range running from north to south, and the Sàtpura and Vindhyà Ranges running from east to west. The minor ranges, which break out in rugged outline from these mountain chains and from the watersheds of many rivers which fall ultimately into the Godàvari and into Krishna, give the whole country an appearance of ruggedness and unevenness not to be met with in other parts of India on such a scale. Geographically, Mahàràshtra includes the Konkan—the strip between the Sahyàdri and the sea, the *Ghàtmátha*, being the country on the top of the ranges, and the *Desh*, which includes the valleys lower down the river. The hill-forts on the top of these ranges typify and protect the naturally defensible position of the country, and they have played an important part in its political history. These characteristic features of the country secure for it the advantages of a good and bracing climate, which distinguishes it from the dry and moist extremes of heat and cold of the temperature of the plains in North India and the lowlands. At the same time, owing to its hilly character, the soil is poor, and the country is sparsely inhabited by a hardy and abstemious people. It is the old story of the Highlands and the Lowlands, the gifts of nature being evenly distributed to all alike on the principle of compensation."*

ADMINISTRATIVE.

To disprove the impression produced by prejudiced writers as to the chaos that prevailed in Mahàràshtra in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries one has only to quote the following passge from page 420 of Volume IV of the East India Papers :—

"Dàdàji Kondadev managed Shahàji's estates at Poona and "Supa with great success, continuing the system introduced by "Malik Ambar. He was particularly successful in the Mávals "or Hilly West, where the people had fallen into great misery. "He remitted rents, found employment for the people as guards "and messengers, and exterpated the wolves that infested the "country."

Sir James Campbell in Vol. X, page 195, of the Bombay Gazetteer records that "Shivàji by introducing a better revenue system and offering the people well-paid employment did much to improve the district of Ratnágiri" the policy, it may be presumed, adopted all over the Ràj established by Shivàji.

* Justice Ranade's Rise of the Maratha Power, pp. 18-19.

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* " Shivàji's system of Civil Government was distinguished from those which preceded it or succeeded it in several important respects :—

Firstly.—In the great importance he attached to the hill-forts, which were virtually the starting unit of his system of Government.

Secondly.—In his discouragement of the hereditary system of transmitting high offices in one and the same family.

Thirdly.—In his refusal to grant *jahágir* assignments of land for the support of Civil or Military Officers.

Fourthly.—In the establishment of a direct system of revenue management, without the intervention of district or village *Zamindárs.*

Fifthly.—In the disallowance of the farming system.

Sixthly.—In the establishment of a Council of Ministers with their proper work allotted to them, and each directly responsible to the King in Council.

Seventhly.—In the subordination of the Military to the civil element in the administration.

Eigthly.—In the intermixture of Brahmans, Prabhus, and Maràthas in all offices, high and low, so as to keep check upon one another."

SOME INTERESTING INCIDENTS RECORDED BY HISTORIANS OTHER THAN GRANT DUFF.

SHAHAJI RAJA. When Shahàji Ràja reached his twentieth year, Nizam Shah Bahiri died. He left two sons, seven years old, born of different mothers. The king's two widows placed the King's two sons on Shahàji's knees and appointed him Vazir. He received the obeisance of the different dependant Chiefs. Jàdhavràо his father-in-law was annoyed. He obtained the assistance of Mir Jumla from Emperor Shàh Jehàn against him. Shahàji went to Kalyàn, and then Màhuli, and finally to Bijàpur. On his way from Màhuli to Bijàpur Jijàwa was seized with violent pains as she was gone seven months with the child Shivàji. Shahàji had to leave her behind with a small escort. Her father after being rebuked by other Sardárs—sent for her and sent her under an escort to Shioner where Shiváji was born in 1626.

[Selections from Government Records of the Bombay Secretariat by G. W. Forrest, Vol. I, p. 4.]

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* Justice Ranade's Rise of the Maratha Power, pp. 131-132.

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SIVAJI'S DISGUISE.

Shivàji's treatment by a Patel's wife resembles that of King Alfred the Great of England :—

Shivàji went to Chanda, and from there to the district of Indure. He soon afterwards passed the Godàvari and reached a village, where some of his own horse under Anandràv had been plundering a short time before. Shivàji and his attendants remained the night at the house of the Patel. The Patel's wife told him that Shivàji's troops had destroyed their village, and that she wished to God, that Shivàji might die in confinement at Delhi; and she, little thinking that he was present, abused Shivàji in the most violent terms. Shivàji looked towards Niràji and smiled. He made a note of the name of the village and of the woman. [E. J. Frissell in G. W. Forrest's selections from the letters, despatches and other state papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Vol. I, Part I, p 17.]

ENGLISH EMBASSY AT SHIVAJI'S INSTALLATION.

An embassy from Bombay seems to have spent three months of May, June and July 1674 on the top of Ràygad. The embassy was sent by the great Gerald Aungier. Shivàji was not unfriendly to the English The embassy consisted of Henry Oxenden who was afterwards (1676) Deputy Governor of Bombay, and two factors. Shivàji assured the ambassador that the English might trade freely through the whole of his country ; on the 6th of June the ambassador and his retinue went to court to congratulate Shivàji. They found the Ràja seated on a magnificent throne and all his nobles waiting on him in rich attire. On entering the court the English made their obeisance. Shivàji was forty-seven years of age, of a handsome intelligent countenance, and for a Maràtha fair in skin. His eye was keen, his nose long acquiline and somewhat drooping, his beard trim and peaked, and his mustache slight, his expression was rapid and resolute, hard and feline.*

SHIVAJI IN BOMBAY.

In 1679 A.D. enraged with the English for allowing the Sidi fleet to take shelter in Bombay harbour, Shivàji's admiral took possession of Khànderi (Kenery) to the south of the harbour mouth. The English and Sidi joined in an attempt to turn out the Maràthas. The English sent a fleet and there was some hard fighting. Both sides suffered severely but the Maràthas continued to hold the island. [Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XI, p 145.]

* [Bombay Gezetteer, Vol. XI, p. 368]. See also page 5 *supra*.

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SHIVAJI'S RECEPTION AT HAIDRABAD.

When Shivàji got as far as the Dàd Mahàl, Tanna Shah came out to receive him, and desired him and Raghunàth Nàràyan and Pralhàd Niràji to sit down. On taking leave, Shivàji received from Tanna Shah very rich dresses, five elephants, ten horses, a fine palanquin, and five lakhs of pagodas. All Shivàji's officers also received dresses. [E. J. Frissell quoted by G. W. Forrest in Selections from Government records, p. 20.]

BAJI PRABU "took his post in a defile through which the road led, and remained there ready to receive Fasil Khàn. They fought till noon and Fasil Khàn could not force the defile. Bàji Prabhu kept his ground, but he was at last killed. Shivàji, in testimony of his high sense of the gallant conduct of Bàji Prabhu, gave his son Bàpji Bàji the office of *Bakshi* and a *jágir*. He also bestowed upon him the *Killedári* (Commandantship) of all the forts which had been held by his father. [Government Records, Bombay Secretariat by W. G. Forrest Vol. I, Part I, p. 13.]

"When Shivàji escaped from Panhàla and went to Ràngna he (Bàji Prabhu) posted himself with a thousand men in a narrow defile, where he contested every inch of ground with the Bijàpur General, in Command of overwhelming forces till he heard the gun announcing Shivàji's safe arrival at Ràngna when at last he gave up breath exhausted from the effects of the wounds he had received. This exploit and sacrifice have been compared with the heroic defence of the Pass of Thermopylæ so well known to the readers of Greek History. (Justice Ràmade's Maràtha History, Vol. I, pp. 75-76.)

"Báji first drove back the cavalry with great slaughter, two assaults by fresh infantry were similarly repulsed, but about midday the son of Afzul Khàn headed a third desperate attack with overwhelming numbers, when, Bàji having lost half the little band, retreated (only) after hearing the signal given from Ràngna (fort). He was killed immediately afterwards, and died expressing satisfaction. There is no more stirring incident in Shivàji's wonderful career. (Crawford's "Our Troubles in Poona and the Deccan, p. 139")"

BALAJI AVJI.

Shivàji's Chitnis was a Prabhu, named Bàlàji Avji, whose acuteness and intelligence were remarked by the English at Bombay on an occasion when he was sent there on business. [Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIX, p. 244.]

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MAHUKUM SING.

The first expedition against Shivàji after his coronation was headed by Mahukum Sing who had charge of Aurangabad. Mahukum Sing moved against him with ten thousand infantry, and arrived about halfway between Ahmednagar and Poona. Shivàji sent Pratàpràv Guzar Sarnaubat with twenty thousand men. Mahukum Sing boldly attacked Pratàpràv. He was however killed and his army defeated. A large amount of booty fell into the hands of the victor. [Selections from Government Records, Maratha period, Vol. I, Part I, p. 14.]

SHAHISTE KHAN.

The second expedition was headed by Shàhiste Khán.

A girl, alarmed for her life, showed Shiváji the way to Shàhiste Khán's room. Shàhiste Khàn awake and immediately fled: he lept over a wall that was in his way and got safe beyond it. Shivàji pursued him, made a cut at him with his sword, and cut off his thumb. The tumult awoke all the guards and attendants, who closed all the exits around Shiváji, but Shiváji made his escape by the way he entered. When Shivàji got out of the window, he saw a man with a torch upon an elephant and perceived that the road by which he had to pass was defended. He considered for a moment, and dertermined to attack the party. *He made an onset with such vigour that he cut his way through them. The elephant was badly wounded and had its trunk cut off.* Shivàji having thus got clear, mounted a horse and fled, and in the morning he arrived at Ràjgad. [Selections from the Government Records of Bombay Secretariat, Vol. I, Part I, p. 15].

POONA IN 1663.

They say that three of the Maolis forced themselves into Shàhiste Khàn's room, but two fell into a cistern of water and the third, though he cut off Shàhiste Khàn's thumb, was killed by his spear. Two slave girls dragged Shàhiste Khàn to a place of safety, while Grant Duff's account states that the Khàn's fingers were cut off as he was letting himself out of a window. [Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VII, pp. 270-271.]

PRAYERS FOR AURANGZEB.

In 1679 Shivàji plundered the fort of Golna about fourteen miles north of Malegaon in the Nasik District. During this siege the Maràthas stopped all supplies to the imperial camp, and numbers died of famine. They offered prayers once a week for

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the long life of Aurangzeb (their enemy), because his mode of making war was so favourable to their success. [Scott's Deccan, Vol. II, p. 109.]

SHIVAJI'S CENOTAPH.

Sindhudurg the fort of Màlvan in the Ratàngiri District has in it Shivàji's cenotaph and in its chief shrine Shivàji's image is worshipped. The image is of stone, and the head is covered with a silver, or, on high days, with a gold mask. In the walls, prints of Shivàji's hands and feet are held in reverence and protected by small domes. But for their exceeding smallness, these prints are very accurate representations of a hand and foot. [Mr. R. B. Worthington, C. S.]

The temple or shrine is supported by a yearly allowance of Rs. 1,522 assigned in 1812, by Kolhapur Chief. [Nairne's M.S.S.]

HILL FORTS.

Report ascribes the construction of most of the Hill forts to Shivàji but some existed before his time and were the work of early Hindu rulers. Many Nasik forts Indràì, Chàndor, Tringolvàdi and Ankàì-Tankàì appear to have been used for religious purposes, and like Shivner in Junnar have caves in them. The earliest mention of a fort being used for political purposes is in the ninth century. In A.D. 808 Màrkinda fort in the Chàndor range appears to have been an out-post of the Ràshtrakuta King Govind III, two of whose copper-plate grants are recorded as having been issued from Màrkinda called Mayurkhandi in the inscription. [Mr. W. Ramsay C.S. in Indian Antiquary.]

ANKOLA.

In February 1676, Fryer described Ankola as half destroyed by Shivàji, and almost down or deserted. Half the market was burnt and the remaining shops were empty. [East India and Persia, p. 158.]

HALEKOT FORT.

In 1675 Fryer found that fort Shiveshwar or Hàlekot was, but recently conquered by Shivàji, and that it was strong place. [East India and Persia, p. 146.]

KURMAGAD FORT.

The island of Kurmagad in Kàrwàr was fortified by Shivàji and named Sidhgad. [Sir James Campbell's Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XV, Part II, p. 328.]

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MULHER FORT.—in the Nasik District was in 1663 in the hands of Shivàji,* but he seems to have lost it. He plundered it in 1672.[2] In 1680 the Maràtha commandant of Mulher made an unsuccessful attempt to seize Aurangzeb's rebel son Prince Akbar.[3] The descendants of this officer are known as Mulherkars and are Prabhus by caste.

THANA FORT.

In 1648, by the capture of Kalyàn, Shivàji began the series of aggressions, which after a century of disorder, ended in the Màràthas gaining the whole of Thàna except the island of Bombay and some tracts in the wild north-east. The descendants of the manager of the fort are called Sàshtikar Guptes, from Salsette the island in which Thana is situated. In 1666 Shivàji drove the Moghals out of most of the South-East of Thàna. [Nairne's Konkan, p. 62.]

SAMBHAJI'S RELATIONS WITH THE ENGLISH.

In 1681 and 1682, as part of the scheme to improve the position of the English Company Sir John Child, the President at Surat, was ordered to restore the Kàrwar factory on a large scale than before. In 1684 the English were nearly driven out of Kàrwar. [Bruce's Annals, P. II, p. 460].

THE COW QUESTION.

The crew of one of two small vessels, the Mexico and the China, which had come to Kàrwar for cargoes of pepper, stole and killed a cow. They were mobbed by the people, and firing in defence, had the misfortune to kill two children. The people seized the pepper and in spite of offers of reparation were so enraged that the factors' lives were in danger, and the House seemed likely to be destroyed. The presence of the Company's shipping prevented an attack. [Factory to Surat, 18th September 1684, Bruce's Annals, P. II, p. 545].

SAMBHAJI.

His relations with the Portuguese :

In 1682, Sambhàji quarrelled with the Portuguese and determined to take the island of Anjidiv. But the Portuguese Viceroy threw into the island a strong detachment of troops, and the Màràthas were forced to withdraw. [Orme's Historical Fragments, pp. 111 & 145].

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* Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 22.
† Elliott & Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 309.

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In 1685 the Portuguese stirred the Desais and Sondas of Kàrwar to revolt, and helped them with troops. Sambhàji-seized the island of Karanja and plundered some places north of Bassein. [Bruce's Annals, P. II, pp. 512-541].

HIS RELATIONS WITH THE MOGHALS.

On the death of Shivàji on the 5th of April 1680, Sambhàji, his son and successor, by supporting the Emperor's rebel son Sultan Akbar, brought on himself the anger of Aurangzeb. [Nairne's Konkan, p. 74].

In 1683 the Moghals ravaged Kalyàn. [Anderson's English in Western India, p. 105].

No sooner were the Moghals gone than (1685) Sambháji overran and plundered Khándesh, took Burhánpur, and retired ravaging the country along the base of Sátmáta hills towards Nasik. Seventeen other places of note in the neighbourhood of the city, all wealthy and flourishing, were plundered and burnt. [Elliot's History, Vol. II, p, 307].

SAMBHAJI'S RELATION WITH THE SIDI OF JANJIRA.

Sambháji made an attack on Underi but failed, and in return the Sidi boats sailed across from Bombay, ravaged the Kolaba coast, carried off some of the chief inhabitants and though several of them were Muhammadans, took them to Underi and beat them without pity till they agreed to pay a ransom of £1,800—(Rs. 18,000). [Sir James Campbell's Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XI, p 441.]

SHAHU RAJA.

His relations with the British, were friendly. Governor Stephen Law deputed Captain William Gordon on 12th May 1739 A.D. to Sháhu Rája with a friendly letter wishing him good health and prosperity, expressing his wish to deserve his friendship, and explaining the advantages of free trade. The Rája said that the English are a good people and by keeping on good terms with them he would be a greater gainer than by breaking with them. Captain Gordon records that Bájiráv "makes small account of the Rája." His son Nánásáhib greatly disregarded him and entertained high jealousy of the British Embassy. Captain Gordon made the acquaintance of, and presented clothes to Jiváji Khanderàv the Prabhu Chitnis or Secretary of the Rája. [Forrest's Selections from Government Records, Vol. I, pp. 77-78.]

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Sháhu Rája wrote to Bájiráv, "Your friendship with the English is to be continued, and therefore all that you can do towards the increase of it—fail not of doing, for they are men of one word. (p. 84).

BAJIRAO.

Captain Gordon records "Bájiráv is said to give great encouragement to weavers for fabricing such things as are useful to the natives, and whereof great quantities are imported to Bombay and other parts. His territories are well peopled, and the poorer sort, in the farming way, are rendered easy in their rents which causes his extent of dominion to be in a very flourishing condition, more so than any other in the possession of the Maráthás," [Forrest's Selections from Government Records, Vol. I, p. 79.]

"The sentiments of most of the principal men are that Bájiráv has in view to throw off his allegiance to the Rája" (*ibid.* 80.)

THANA.

On the 13th of July 1739 Captain Gordon writes, that he and his men were well used by the principal officer of Thána—a regular fortress with two lately erected round towers, wherein are two batteries of guns. This officer was Kesha Ràmji Gupte the Kárkhánis.

Khando Ballāl Chitnis (pp. 473 & 522) was arrested on his way to Jinji by the Moghals at Trivedi Arunáchal. He induced the Hindu sentry in charge of his cell to allow him to escape by substituting a man of similar features. His son Bahiroba offered to take his place and did so. Khando Ballál escaped and went to Ginji (Jinji) but the loyal devoted son was murdered by Tarbiat Khán. Khando Ballál was the son of Báláji Avji alias Bál Prabhu who was also murdered for devoted loyal services. Bahiroba his grandson offered his life to ensure the success of his father's plans for the relief of Jinji. His younger brother Jiváji Khanderáv (p. 522) has been mentioned in Gordon's diary. [Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, p. 80.]

PRAYAGJI PRABHU.

"The fort which occupies the summit of a very steep hill of moderate height, and whose defences consist of a sheer scrap of over forty feet topped by a stone well, was defended by Prayágji Prabhu Havildár, who had been reared in the service of Shiváji. He vigorously opposed the Moghals and disputed every foot of ground as they pushed forward their advanced posts. As soon as

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they began to gain any part of the hill he withdrew his troops into the fort and rolled huge stones from the rock above, which did great execution, and, until they threw up cover, were as destructive as artillery. In spite of Prayágji's efforts the blockade was completed.!' *

"Prayágji the Marátha commandant was buried in the ruins caused by the first explosion close to a temple dedicated to the goddess Bhaváni, but was afterwards dug out alive. His escape was considered a lucky omen, and under other circumstances might have done much to inspirit the garrisson to prolong the defence." *

Ráoji Appáji, Bábáji Appáji, Sitárám Ráoji, Vithalráv Bábáji and Bháskarráv Vithal the decendants of Prayágji were Ministers, of Baroda, The present scion is Vithalráv Bháskar Phanse, Khásgivale, the hereditary Talukdár of Vithalgad in Kathiáwád.

B. A. GUPTE.

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* Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIX, p. 251.

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APPENDIX.

II.

Tarabai.

"After Ram Raja's death the chiefs made Tarabai the chief wife, and mother of one son, regent. She was a clever intelligent woman, and had obtained a reputation during her husband's life time for her knowledge of civil and military matters."* She showed great powers of command and government.

The Portuguese.

The Portuguese were not friendly with the Marathas at this time (1739 A.D.) and J. P. Pinto the Commandant at Bassein and Provisional Governor of the North wrote to the British Governor of Bombay :—

> "I am likewise, from a regard to our common interest, to "tell you that the Marathas have more at heart the "conquest of your island, than they had that of ours, "which now commands it."

[Forrest's Selections from Government Records, Vol. I p. 26.]

The British.

The Council at Bombay presided over by Stephen Law with John Morley as a member, decided on the 1st May 1739, that "As nothing occurs more fit for the purpose (of protecting Bombay) or more necessary than a ditch to be run round the town wall."

[Forrest's Selections from Government Records, Vol. I p. 37.

Shahu Raja in 1739.

Shahu Ràja's position recorded on 29th November 1739 by the British Council consisting of Messers S. Law, T. Waters, J. Geekie and John Morley :—

"We are sensible that treating with the Shàhu Raja directly "as matters are circumstanced, would be to no purpose, as "Bajirav's power is so firmly established."

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* (Khafi Khan in Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII p. 369).

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The Count of Sandomil the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa writes on the same date:

"Shahu Ràja has conceived some displeasure at Bajirav for "not putting Bassein into his hands." *Ibid* p. 60.

President Stephen Law writes on the 1st of December 1739:

"No negotiation would come to any satisfactoy conclusion that any ways traversed Bajirav's interest, who though being out of the Shahu Raja's favour has still a very prevalent faction in that court, so that such a separate proposal would encounter invincible difficulties and delays." [*Ibid* Vol. I, p. 63].

Chimnaji Appa.

"The Bombay Council recorded on the 7th May 1739 that Chimnaji allowed the Portugese the space of a week to evacuate Bassein on most honourable conditions. Chimnaji granted that the Christians who remain voluntarily in the place shall enjoy the liberty of worshipping God in the faith they profess, without being robbed or stripped of what they have got. The same is to be observed in every respect with the Gentoos and Moors that shall choose to stay behind each according to his Law." The Commandant of Bassein C. D. Pareira further begged "That whilst Chimnaji Appa shall be in possession of this city, he shall for ever maintain the privilege of three churches within it—one in the town, one in the district, and one on the island of Salsette,—for the Christians that shall remain in the said city or places stipulated for, where they may freely exercise all the acts of their religion, and the said churches shall with their curates be subject to the most Illustrious and Reverend Primate of India, for him to settle their proper jurisdiction for the cultivation of the said Christianity. And whatever images that I may leave behind, of such as I cannot carry with me, shall be suffered to remain in the said churches with the most necessary ornaments for adorning them."

This request was also generously granted.

[Forrest's Selection, Vol. I, p. 41].

Captain Inchbird writes on 27th June 1739 to Governor S. Law that "They (Chimnaji and Raghunathrav Peshvas) lord it over you and the Shahu Raja also, and say that you shall not apply to him upon any account without their previous advice and consent."

On the 10th of May 1739 President S. Law writes to Captain William Gordon "As we are informed Bàjiràv does not want

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for great and powerful enemies at that court, you will do well to enquire who they are, and how much they may be depended upon; and it will not be amiss, if you see a proper occasion and opening to instil a jealousy of his ambition and growing power, which must be much increased by the accession of these conquests from the Portuguese, and consequently it must be high time to check or put a stop to. However as we are afraid of his interest and credit being but too prevalent, I have thought proper to send him a letter on this occasion, with a present in the eastern manner, and it will be necessary you guard against making him an enemy, lest he might be excited to aim at doing us ill offices." (*Ibid* p. 76).

The British Council at Bombay have recorded on the 20th of July 1837 "That from the best intelligence procurable there appears no reason to doubt of Bajirav's disregard of any subjection to the Shahu Raja, whom he acknowledges only for form's sake, whilst his views tend apparently to fortify himself in a state of independence on him, of which the Shahu Raja himself does not seem ignorant." (*Ibid*, p. 83).

Raghuji Bhonsla and Nagpur.

Chand Sultan the king of Nagpur died in 1739. On his death Wali Shah, a natural son of Bakt Buland usurped the throne. The widow of the dead king called in Raghuji Bhonsla from Berar to support her two sons, Burhan Shah and Akbar Shah. Wali Shah was slain and the rightful heirs placed on the throne. Raghuji then retired to Berar. Dissensions, however, speedily arose between the two brothers, and in 1743 the elder brother invited the support once more of Raghuji Bhonsla, who was again successful. He drove Akbar Shah into exile and constituted himself protector, and while Burhan Shah retained the title of Raja, with a pension, both of which his descendants have since held, Raghuji took all real power into his own hands, and making Nagpur his capital, quickly reduced all Deogarh to own his authority. The nominal supremacy left to the deposed princes was probably intended to show that the Bhonslas held the Nagpur Territory from the Gonds, and not, like the other chiefs of the Maratha confederation, by favour of the Peshwa. He died in March 1755.*

Pratinidhi.

The Pratinidhis are Deshasth Brahmans, while the Peshwas were Konkanasth or Chitpavan Brahmans. Since the ascendency

* Hunter's Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. X, p. 166.

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of Balaji Vishvanath, Bajirav Ballàl, and Balaji Bajirav the first three Konkanasth Peshvas, the Pratinidhi family lost all influence with the Kings of Satara. Parashuram Trimbak the first hereditary Pant Pratinidhi or Viceroy was a great favourite of Rajaram's. He was first appointed to that high post in 1698. He was Tarabai's chief general. In 1713 Parashuram was made hereditary Pant Pratinidhi. His son Shrinivas *alias* Shripatrav was Shahu Raja's chief adviser. His brother Dadoba *alias* Jagjivan was seized and placed in irons.* These events mark the downfall of the Deshasth section of the Maratha Brahmans. The Peshvas raised their own people to high offices and did all they could to undermine the influence of their rivals the Deshasthas and the friends of that community the Prabhus, which resulted in the fall of the Maratha power.

The enforced immolation of the Rani Sakvarbai.

Shahu Raja's queen Sakvarbai was forced to burn herself on her husband's pyre through her brother, by Balaji Bajirav. Sir James Campbell says that the "wily" Brahman—the Peshva, by these arts secured his victim.*

Deccan in 1751.

"Indeed, at this period, power in the Deccan had so greatly fallen into the hands of usurpers, that had the Europeans really desired to support no pretensions save such as were strictly legitimate, they must have commenced by setting aside almost the whole of the claimants who now pressed upon their notice."[1]

The quarrels of neighbouring states afforded a ready pretext for armed interference, and offered to both French and English the immediate advantage of remunerative employment for spare force, together with the prospect of establishing a degree of independent, if not paramount authority, which might enable the factories to withhold the large sums it had been heretofore found necessary to pay to local officials, in order to secure the enjoyment of the privileges conceded by imperial firmauns.[1]

Marathas and Trichinopoly in 1752 A. D.

"I have been recently informed that the Marathas and the Mysorians intend to create disturbances at Trichinopoly. If you and the Tanjore Raja supply Mr. Dalton with the necessary provisions it will be perfectly impossible for the enemy to subdue Trichinopoly."[2]

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* Bombay Gazetteer Vol. XIX. pp. 622, 290.

[1] R. M. Martin's History of the Indian Empire, Vol. I, p. 257.

[2] Thomas Saunders, Governor of Madras, to the Raja of Pudukkottai, letter dated 6th Sawwal 1165 Hijri (1752 A. D.)

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The Marathas in Bengal in 1757.

The Marathas, who had long been encroaching on the fertile provinces of Bengal, thought the unpopularity and known inefficiency of its present ruler afforded favourable opportunity for an attempt at his complete subjugation. The capture of Cossimbazar and Calcutta would, the Peishwa Balajee Bajee Rao conceived, render the English willing to enter into a coalition against the Nabob, and the co-operation of the troops in the invasion of Bengal was solicited; the compensation offered being the repayment of double the amount of the losses sustained from Surajah Dowlah, and the vesting of the commerce of the Ganges exclusively in the East India Company.*

Fort Victoria.

Bankot was ceded to the British on the 8th of April 1755 and the name of the fort was changed from Himmatgad to Fort Victoria.[1]

It proved very serviceable in providing hemp ropes, then much in demand for lashing cotton bales, but was chiefly valuable as a place from which Bombay Europeans and Musalmans might be supplied with beef."[2]

Balaji's relations with the British.

Mr. John Spencer writes "I opened conference (consisting of Nana, (Balaji), Sadoba (Sadashivrav Bhau), and Amritrav) with assuring him (Nana) of the desire of your Honour (Governor of Bombay) and Council had that the good correspondence which had so long subsisted between his family and the Honourable Company should be continued. And as a mark of your sincere friendship to Nana had directed me to advise him of the application that had been made to our gentlemen at Madras by Salabat-Jang for men on the French having acted so treacherously to him.[3]

Sadashivrav.

John Spencer recorded "that the affairs of the Government pass wholly through the hands of his (Nana's) cousin Sadoba, who acts as Diwan, and is a man of great capacity in business, but as you (Bourchier) observed to us, hasty and avaricious."[4]

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* Martin's History of the Indian Empire, Vol. I, p. 276.
[1] Nairne's Konkan p. 92.
[2] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. X, p 321
[3] Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, Part I, p. 119.
[4] Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, Part I, p. 121.

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Peshva's Court in 1759.

President and Council, Bombay record "that Mr. Price will find Nàna's court in great confusion and very much divided, as a difference has subsisted for some time between Nana and Sadoba."

Shankraji Pant is a crafty old courtier, and we fear pretends to be much a friend to the English only because he has expectation of recovering some money from Surat through our interest.*

Dabhade.

W. A. Price records that at Sarruti he was lodged in a convenient house, formerly belonging to one Dabhara, a Maratha officer who was betrayed and murdered by Bajirav, Nana's father.*

India in the middle of the Eighteenth Century.

"In fact, India in the middle of the eighteenth century, resembled, in a political point of view, a vast battle-field strewn with the fragments of ruined states, and affording on every side abundant evidence of a prolonged and severe conflict, from which even the victors had emerged irretrievably injured. In the Deccan this was especially the case."[1]

Shenvi.

Ramchandra Baba Shenvi the co-adjutor of Sadashiv-rav Bhau Peshva represented another intellectual community which played an important part in the history of the Marathas. Shenvi possibly means born of a *shena* the wiseman of the village or *shahanbhog*, the village-accountant. During the latter portion of the Peshva's rule they were much persecuted and degraded to the position of *tri karmis* or men with only half the Vedic rights. Forty years ago they called themselves Gaud Brahmans of Tirhoot and claimed relationship with the Bengalis, but recently they call themselves Sarasvat or residents of the banks of the Saraswati in the Punjab. This is one more instance of caste denominations undergoing changes. The tribal or caste-ridden arrangement of the Maratha politics will show itself further on.[2]

Balaji Bajirav.

"Balaji owed more to his father and grandfather and to his brother Raghunathrav and his cousin Sadashivrav than he owed

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* Forrest's Selection, Vol. I, Part I, p. 129.

[1] Martin's History of the Indian Empire, Vol. I, p. 308.

[2] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XV, Part I, p. 139 and Vol. XVIII, pp. 175, &c.

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to himself. He was lazy, sensual, and dissipated, but kind, generous and charitable. He loved intrigue and hated violence. He had great address, polished manners, and considerable political sagacity, tempered by a cunning which passed for wisdom. Though perhaps less well-ordered than it became about thirty years later under Nana Fadnavis, under Balaji Bajirav the administration of the country round Poona was greatly improved."*

Madhavrav I, Peshwa.

"His (Hyder's) daring encroachments were arrested by Mahdoo Rao, the young and energetic Mahratta Peishwa, who (taking advantage of the accommodation with Nizam Ali, which had succeeded the partial destruction of Poona by the latter in 1763) crossed the Kistnah, in 1764, with a force greatly outnumbering that of Hyder. A prolonged contest ensued, in which the advantage being greatly on the side of the Mahrattas, and the army of Hyder much reduced, he procured the retreat of the Peishwa, in 1765, by various territorial concessions, in addition to the payment of thirty-two lacs of rupees."[1]

"Maharashtra is described as having greatly improved under his sway, and as being, in proportion to its fertility, probably more thriving than any other part of India, notwithstanding the inherent defects of its administrative system, and the corruption which Madhoo Rao restrained, but could not eradicate."[2]

"Peshwa Madhavrav after regaining his power from Raghunathrav seized every interval of leisure to improve the civil government of his country. In this laudable object he had to contend with violent prejudices and with general corruption; but the beneficial effects of the reforms he introduced are now universally acknowledged and his sincere desire to protect his subjects by the equal administration of justice reflects the highest honour on his reign."[3]

"His reign may be looked on as the time during which the administration of the country reached its highest excellence; the *mamlatdars* and other officers were carefully looked after, the assessment was paid without much difficulty owing to the wealth brought into the country by war, and justice was well administered by the famous Ram Shastri. After Madhav's

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* Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVIII, Part II, pp. 249-250.
[1] Martin's History of the Indian Empire Vol. I. p. 317.
[2] *Ibid* p. 320.
[3] Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIX, p. 296.

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death the Maratha Empire was plunged in confusion and a period of civil war followed ; the great chiefs became completely independent, and an opportunity was given to the English Government to interfere."*

Battle of Panipat.

Up to the defeat at Panipat the great Maratha chiefs had been generally obedient to the Peshwa, and had always joined his standard. Now his prestige was gone, and the chiefs became more and more independent. The minority of Madhavrav a boy of sixteen, and the quarrels between him and his uncle Raghunath tended to the same result.[1]

Battle of Tandulja.

Sakharam Hari (at page 175) was a Prabhu by caste and of the Gupte family. His direct descendants are the Jahgirdars of Ambegav and live at Baroda. Col. Keating mentions him as one of Raghunathrav Peshwa's chief officers. He further adds that the Peshva army was under the command of Sadashiv Ramchandra, Appaji Mahadev, Sakharam Hari (Gupte) and Manaji Fadkia (Fakdia).[2]

Raghunathrav Peshva.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Keating in his letter dated 4th March 1775 state "He (Peshwa Raghoba) appears a man of sound judgment and of quick and clear conception.[3]

Raghunathrav Peshwa's grievance.

"At our next meeting he opened the conversation by informing me of the late disputes between Madhavrav and him who, he said, for some time past had behaved very ungratefully notwithstanding the many obligations he laid under to him; that after Nana's death he had not only secured and placed him in quiet possession of his father's titles and country, reserving for himself only the title of guardian, which he, for his country's good, was led to take upon him, as his nephew was very young, but also looked on and esteemed him as his own child ; that for some time past he had been treated with disrespect by him, his ministers and officers had been inveigled from him, and a conspiracy has even been set on foot to imprison him."[4]

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* Bombay Gazetteer Vol. I, Part II, p. 603.
[1] *Ibid*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 602.
[2] Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 217 & 220.
[3] *Ibid*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 217.
[4] *Ibid*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 167.

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Madhavrav's efforts to dissuade British Company from supporting his uncle.

"He set forth the long and ancient friendship that had subsisted between the Hon'ble Company and his family, and that it was his sincere desire to continue and strengthen it, and therefore expected and hoped the Hon'ble Company would not support or assist any of his enemies even though they were his relations. I (Thomas Mostyn) assured him the Hon'ble Company were as desirous as himself to continue and be upon this most amicable footing with his Government and he might rest satisfied so long as he remained firm in his friendship with them they would not think of supporting or assisting either his relation or any one else against him."*

Notions and customs of the Hindus respected by the Bombay Governor and Council.

"Sensible as you must be of the bigotry of the Gentoos in general, especially of those of the higher castes to their particular notions and customs, and as it may be attended with very ill consequences to give any just cause of offence in these points, we therefore direct that you prevent any under your command from doing so, and we particularly enjoin and direct that no bullocks be ever killed for the Europeans or others, unless you are perfectly satisfied that it may be done without any umbrage being taken at it."[1]

Marathas in 1772-74.

Mr. Mostyn was fixed as Resident at the Maratha Darbar in 1772, during the life time of Madhavrav, and about a year before that Government fell into the confusion it has been in since the assassination of his successor Narayanrav. Some time afterwards the Maratha State fell into that confussion which at present distracts it, when in fact there is no head in that Empire; we could not entertain a doubt from the distracted situation of the officers of the Marathas that the Portuguese would certainly gain possession of Salsette.

Marathas in 1775.

"Sindia was greatly disgusted and resolved to quit the Ministerial (Peshwa) army." "Tukoji Holkar did not appear

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* Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, Part I, p. 170.
[1] *Ibid*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 216.
[2] *Ibid*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 204.

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warm in the Ministerial cause. Khanderav and Govindrav (Gaikwad) with their army are staunch and zealous friends of Raghoba."*

"Mahadaji Sindia has deserted the confederate ministers. He has actually entered into engagements for assisting Raghoba. Tukoji Holkar will never act against him, and Fattesing (Gaikwad) is entering into engagements with him."[1]

Capture of Thana.

Brigadier General Gordon states "Upon our approach to the town of Thana, we found all inhabitants had deserted their houses and fled, having been summoned to the fort by the Killedar the day we marched from Bombay. The enemy kept up a pretty smart fire all last night, but with little success."[2]

There is a terrible fire kept up from the fort. Except the Surat business I never saw any thing like this. (p. 190.)

"Brigadier General Gordon may release all prisoners, except the principal persons, such as Subedar Amritrav, the Muzumdar, Chitnavis, Potnis, Fadnis (Gupte) and the late Killedar's family, who from the station they held, will be able to furnish us with a necessary insight into the revenue of the island. They must be detained and treated with suitable civility. (p. 202).

"Salsette was gallantly defended by an old man of ninety-two, who, being summoned to surrender, answered, "He was not sent for that purpose." It was not till he was slain in a bloody assault that the place was taken. The capture gave fresh security and importance to the isle of Bombay."[3]

This was Balkrishna, the grand-father of Ganapatrav Janardan Gupte, the first Government pleader of Thana, and the Munsiff of Pimpalgav, in Nasik.

He was a Prabhu misspelt Parvoe, Purvo, or Parabhu. "It is the popular name of the writer caste in Western India, Prabhu, or Parbhu "lord or chief" (Sans. Prabhu) being an honorific title assumed by the Kayasthas.[4]

These writers are generally called Purvoes; a faithful deligent class."[5]

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* Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, Part II, p. 219.

[1] William Hornby on 30th April, 1775, in Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, Part II, p. 233

[2] Forrest's Selections, Vol. I. Part I, pp. 187 & 196.

[3] The View of Hindoostan by Thomas Pennant, Vol. I, pp. 90-91, London, 1798 A.D.

[4] Hobson, Jobson, p. 682.

[5] Forbe's Oriental Memoirs, Vol. I, pp. 156 157.

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The fact is that the Prabhus have been, in later days, called Kayasthas because they now follow the profession of that caste. *

Characters of Mudaji Bhonsle and Nana Phadnavis compared.

"Moodajee retained a lively recollection of kindness received from the grandfather of the infant Peishwa, and despite the promptings of ambition, was reluctant to interfere with the power of that family. These kindly feelings, one of the Hindu guardians of the child (either Nana Furnavees or Sukaram Bappoo) had taken pains to cherish, by placing his infant charge in the arms of young Raghoo, the son of Moodajee, and styling *him the protector* of the Peishwa. Hastings himself remarks that acts of this description establish in the minds of the Mahrattas "obligations of the most solemn kind," and afford "evidence of a generous principle, so little known in our political system." The powerful minister, Nana Furnavees, was, however, actuated by less generous principles, his chief object being to use the little Peishwa as an instrument for his own aggrandisement and that of his family, to whom he designed to transmit his paramount authority over the puppet minister of a puppet rajah."*

Peshva Narayanrav.

"Had Narayanrav possessed the least degree of prudence he might have remained secure in the Peshwaship, for though by the instigation of his mother and the choice he had made of confidants he had created to himself a deadly enemy in the Divan Sakharam Bapu, yet the influence and abilities of the Fadnavees, Nana and Moroba, and their adherents, were more than a counterpois to him. But without the least share of judgment and wholly devoted to low vices and pleasures, Narayanrav paid not the least regard to any one; on the contrary he behaved in so senseless, imperious and disregardful a manner even to the Ministers in his own party, that they became lukewarm in his interest and in time suffered him to fall a sacrifice to the machinations of his enemies."†

Gopikabai and Raghoba.

"Gopikabai, the widow of Nana, (Balaji Bajirav) was a woman deeply given to intrigues of every kind and her scandalous

* Martin's History of the Indian Empire, Vol. I, p. 343.
† W. Taylor in Forrest's Selections Vol. I, Part II, p. 251.

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licentiousness justly attracted the reproach of one so nearly concerned in the honour of the family as her husband's brother. Hence first arose the bitter hatred of Gopikabai to Raghoba."*

Madhavrav I, Peshwa.

"Madhavrav as he advanced in years showed a firmness and abilities which made him dreaded and respected by every one: in the short time he governed, his wise conduct and great abilities procured him the respect of every power around him, and as he well knew the designs of the Ministers there is no doubt, had his life been longer, he would have effectually restored the influence of the Peishwa, but unfortunately for it, he died in November 1772 at the age of 25, leaving no children."*

The Peishwa's Darbar in 1775.

"As the impolitic avarice of the Brahmans had clearly evinced their intentions to avail themselves of their present possession of power to call on the Maratha Chiefs for their arrears, whenever a fortunate event gave them hopes of success, many Maratha Chiefs quitted their party and joined Raghoba, which enabled him to face the ministerial army, and by stratagem in the month of March he gained a complete victory, taking prisoner Trimbakrav Mama, the Commander-in-Chief, and one of their most respectable partisans."*

Bhonslas in 1775.

"The Bhonsla is by far the most formidable of the Maratha Chiefs, both by the extent of his dominions and the goodness and number of his troops."*

Conquest of Bednur in Kanara.

"In 1755 Basavappa Naik, the last chief of Bednur, died. He left an adopted son, a youth of seventeen, named Chan Basavaia, under the charge of his widow, an abandoned woman, who, on her husband's death, lived with a paramour named Nimbaia. The young chief remonstrated, and on the 17th of July 1757 was murdered by the order of his adoptive mother. The people broke into revolt and in the confusion the Marathas seized the fort of Mirjan."[1]

The Peshvas against Shivaji's House.

"The period (1760) was disastrous one for Kolhapur. The Peshwa, in order to keep it in check, established the powerful

* W. Taylor in Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, Part II, p. 250, 253 & 254.
[1] Wilks' South of India, I, 450; Bombay Quarterly Review, VI, 210.

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family of Patvardhans on the eastern frontier with a large *saranjam* sufficient for the maintenance of 8,000 horse. Afterwards, irritated at the communication kept up by the Kolhapur court with the Nizam, he deprived the State of the two districts of Chikodi and Manoli, which he bestowed on the Patvardhans. He restored them, it is true, afterwards, but the example he set was followed and the districts in question constantly changed hands during the succeeding fifty years."*

"In 1772, the Peshwa's troops encamped on the Krishna and committed great devastation in the eastern districts of the Kolhapur territory: Konherrav Trimbak, one of the Patvardhan Saranjamdars, was making raids from the same quarter."*

Salient points of Revenue administration.

"The character of Maratha revenue management depended greatly on the views and energy of the head of the executive. During the ministry of Nana Fadnavis (1774-1800) great attention was paid to the representations of the heads of villages and other landholders. If a village headman went to Poona with a complaint he had no difficulty in interviewing the minister. The knowledge that petitioners had a full and ready hearing was a great check on the *kamavisdars* and other distant officers. Besides this freedom of appeal, local officers were under the surveillance of people stationed in each sub-division to watch and report on their actions." "Under Nana Fadnavis no Government officer dared to burden a village with an unusually heavy rent without first obtaining the assent of the village."†

"Of the Maratha surveys the one most highly spoken of by the people was Sadashiv Keshav's revised survey of Kalyan (1788-89). He visited the land, classified it according to its fertility which he ascertained by experiments lasting over ten years, and fixed the government share at the money value of one-third of its average produce. The rates were 10s. 7½d. (Rs. 5-5) for first class land, 8s. 6d. (Rs. 4-4) for second class, and 6s. 4½d. (Rs. 3-3) for third class. Only the rice lands were measured. The hill lands were assessed at a money rate of 3s. (Rs. 1½) on a nominal *bigha*, which was an area estimated equal to a *bigha* with a due allowance for rock and underwood. Before fixing the amount of the village rental the new estimates were compared with the standard rates, *dar dam shirasta*, all differences between the old rates and the proposed rates were referred to Poona, and the final amount determined according to the orders of the government. The total rentals, *kamals*, fixed in

* Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XVII, pp 428 & 430.
† Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XXIV, pp. 230-231.

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this way settled the demands for future years. Without orders from Poona the local officers had no power to ask anything over the full rental, *kamaljama.*"*

Progress of the Marathas.

"The Marathas have been making great strides towards the conquest of all India. They have been some time masters of the country of the Jats, and they have possessed themselves of all the Rohilla and Pathan dominions on the west of the Ganges. The only part of the Rohilla territory which remained, was a large tract of land lying to the north of the province of Oudh, and shut in on the west and north by the Ganges, and the woods and mountains of Terai among which the Ganges loses itself. Sekkertaul, the capital of this country, stands on the bank of the river."

"The Marathas have lately crossed the river, attacked and utterly routed the Rohilla army which lay there for the guard of the fort, and taken possession of Sekkertaul. The Rohilla chiefs-planet-struck have run off to their strongholds, and are running off to the hills, so that the whole country lies at their mercy." [1]

Sakharam Bapu.

The Honourable Warren Hastings wrote in 1775: "I have heard of your wisdom and capacity from everywhere." [2]

Position of affairs in 1775.

"In the ancient constitution of the Maratha Empire, the affairs of it were conducted under the supreme authority of the Raja, by a Council consisting of eight persons, being the eight principal officers of the State. By the last account I have seen of this Council, it consisted of Brahmans who were generally employed in all civil departments of the State: the command of armies and other military matters was confided to the Maratha or Rajput Caste. The Raja has never been thought of, but finding the Peshwas in absolute possession of all power, we have constantly in all transactions with the Marathas, applied to and treated with them, as though they were the lawful Princes of the Empire.*** Holkar and Sindia deeming Raghoba's affairs desperate by his late desertion, thought best to enter seriously into

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* Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XIII, Part II, p 559.

[1] Warren Hastings in D.B. Parasnis' Itihas Sangraha, Vol. IV, No. I, p. 118.

[2] Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, Part II, p 246.

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terms with the Ministers.**** The late Janoji Bhonsla having no children, had adopted his nephew Raghoji, the son of his younger brother Mudaji Bhonsla. This occasioned a warm dispute between the surviving brothers Sabaji and Mudaji; the former claimed the right of government as the elder brother, and the latter as father and guardian to the adopted child. The Ministers had embraced the party of Sabaji. The Gaikawar a Maratha family, possessed the whole of the Gujarat country down to Daman. During the late disturbances at Poona, this family had been prevented from taking any active part by their own intestine divisions. Tukaji Holkar and Mahadji Sindia, had indeed entered into the confederacy and were the great hopes and support of it; but as they had till now studiously avoided interfering with either party, from the political motive of profiting by the divisions among the Brahmans. Murarav Gopalrav, an old and experienced Maratha, who possessed the Fort of Gutti with a considerable district bordering on the Nizam's country, seemed only attentive to secure himself in his Jaghir, without siding with either party. The Nizam, whose interest it especially is to keep the Poona Government divided and depressed, had essentially profitted by the present feuds. Hyder, whose interests are in respect to the Poona Government the same as those of the Nizam, was also pleased to see the division among the Brahmans. *Such was the situation of affairs* when the Peshwa Raghunathrav applied to the President and Council of Bombay for the assistance of a body of troops to join his army. Far different from this flattering situation was the state of the confederacy; they had been deserted by Mahadji Sindia and Tukoji Holkar, on whom rested their chief dependence. Narso Appa, the Governor of Poona, a man well respected, was dead, Moroba Fadnavis, a Minister of the first consideration, with several others, could not be brought to join the confederacy, and his influence was so high that they dared not molest him even in Poona. Already some of their party by no means inconsiderable had quitted it; such were Appaji Ganesh, the Governor of Ahmedabad, and Fattesing Gaikawar, to whose knowledge and influence in the Gujarat country, they are solely indebted to the success they met with previous to our junction with Raghoba. Sabaji Bhonsla, who had formerly been of great service to them, was dead. Always doubtful of the Nizam, the death of Ruckun-ud-Dowla now defeated all their hopes in that quarter. *Such was the state of politics at Poona.* The independence on their army was nothing better. The Maratha Chiefs who had been brought to engage in the confederacy were given to hope for supply of cost from the Ministers, but here again the Brahman avarice combated the general interest, for though they have large sums of their own, yet no one being perfectly assured that any particular benefit

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would especially accrue to himself by parting with it, constantly refused every application and referred to the treasures of the Sarkar, which being only the temporary collections were soon exhausted in subsidies to the Nizam. I [W. Tyalor] hold it as a political maxim that all the powers in India are interested in the continuance of the Brahman Government: the *jealousy* which from various causes ever subsists between the Maratha Chiefs and the Brahmans *will prevent that union of the whole empire*, which must be most formidable to the rest of India. The surprising rapidity with which they overran almost the whole dominions of the Mogal, the numerous armies they sent forth to all quarters, and the bravery of the Rajputs, under their own Raja, and led forth by Chiefs of their own caste are sufficient circumstances to make us deprecate their reunion. Should the administration continue in the hands of the confederated Brahmans, what with their own dominion and other circumstances, it seems to me very probable that some of the Maratha Chiefs will expel them from the Government, and either re-establish the Raja or reign themselves."*

Nana Fadnavis.

"The Maratha Chiefs in general are much disgusted with Nana Fadnavis, and jealous of his ambitious views, which apparently tend to fixing himself at the head of that Government."[1]

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* Forrest's Selections, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 249, 254, 255, 264 & 267.
[1] *Ibid*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 301.

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APPENDIX.

III.

THE ZENITH.

Marathas in the north in 1798.

"The Kingdom of Ougein (Ujjein), Agemir (Ajmere), part of Malwah (Malva) and Candeish (Khandesh) is now in possession of the enterprizing Maratta, Madagee (*sic*) Sindia, who makes the capital of the first his residence."*

"Since the year 1783 he has extended his frontier from Malwa towards the Jumna, possessed himself of the strong fortress of Guallior, and even given a pension to the unhappy Mogul Shah Allum, who fled to him for protection, after having his eyes put out by a savage Rohilla chieftain, on whom Sindia revenged the cruelty by putting him to a most excruciating death. Such is the sunk state of the representative of the mighty Emperors of Hindustan."[1]

Marathas in the east.

"Nagpur the capital of Berar, or the dominions of Moodajee (Mudaji) Boonslah (Bhonsla), chief of the eastern Marathas, his country is that of Berar and Orissa."[2]

Marathas in the south.

"Calymere point, the *Calligicum promontorium of Ptolemy*, juts into the sea in Lat. 10° 20', and with Cape *Koyel*, forms a bay in the concave shores of the *Marawars*, and part of Tanjore. All the coast from Cape Comorin to Calymere point, and from thence to the mouth of the Godavary, is flat and sandy: this sort of appearance, in places, runs far inland, and often insulates naked rocks, and sugar-loaf peaks. From Calymere point, the coast runs almost due north, swelling out a little about midway, as far as the mouth of Kistnah river, in nearly Lat. 16° north.

The northern part of the straight between the Continent and Ceylon, which lies from Cape Calymere to the cluster of isles off the northern end of Ceylon, is called Palk's Passage. They

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* Thomas Pennant's View of Hindustan, Vol. I, p. 78.

[1] *Ibid*, p. 85.

[2] *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 119.

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probably are the shattered remains of land which once made continent of the present isle of Ceylon, of which Adam's *Bridge* is the other part. This was the extent of the Tanjore state which belonged to the Marathas. That Kingdom was once independent. Its extent is said to be equal to that of Portugal."* •

Marathas in the West.

The Maratha tribute-collecting expeditions were conducted on the model of those of Moghal authorities, from whom they borrowed the very names of their levies. The recovery of Ahmedabad in 1755, and its final conquest by the Marathas in 1757 marked the ZENITH of the Maratha power in that part of India. After this date, the power of the Peshva and Gaikwar steadily declined. Perhaps the first revival of Gaikwar power in the peninsula (of Kathiawar) was under Shivaram Gardi during the very last years of the eighteenth century and his efforts were continued by Babaji Appaji and Vithal Rao Devaji in the nineteenth century.[1] Babaji Appaji and Vithal Rao Devaji were Chandraseni Kayasth Prabhus.

Marathas in Central India.

In 1735 Malhar Rao Holkar was appointed Commander of the Maratha forces north of the Narbada. He filled the post of the Principal General of the Peshva. His possessions and influence rapidly increased, and raised him to a foremost position among the chiefs of India. After Panipat, Malhar Rao retired to Central India and employed himself in reducing his vast possessions to coherence and order.[2]

Salient Points.

"Between 1778 and 1790, the country (South Bijapur) was well managed, and on the whole prosperous. Krishnarav Rastia's agent encouraged husbandry by starting ploughing matches and by showing marked consideration to exceptionally hardworking husbandmen. In this way every arable inch came under tillage, and the country was filled with people many very rich, and all happy and contented. The revenue in each village was fixed and moderate, settled without trouble, and paid without a groan."[3]

"But it so happens that in 1794 there was a complete lull in Upper India: the blind old Shah Alum was, to be sure, a mere

* Pennant's View of Hindustan, Vol. II, pp 13 & 15.
[1] Bombay Gazetteer Vol. VIII, p 304.
[2] Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. VII, p 5.
[3] Marshall's Statistical Report quoted in Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. XXIII, p. 444.

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pensioner of Scindia; but for a time he lived in comfort, and though the death of Scindia removed his patron early in 1794, yet Nana Furnavis kept all things straight."*

The Doctor (D. Hove) seems to have visited Guzerat at a favourable time (1787-88 A. D.), at a period when the Maratha rule was of a beneficent character under the administration of Nana Furnavis, and his able master.[1]

The Colonial Extent.

South of the Vindya Mountains, Bombay Presidency chiefly represents the home of the Marathas and includes greater part of the original Raj. The following figures quoted from the Census of 1901 will show colonies of the Marathas in other Provinces as compared with the Maratha-speaking population of Bombay *itself*:

1.	Bombay	8,639,131
2.	Hyderabad State	2,898,820
3.	Berar	2,194,620
4.	Central Provinces	2,106,558
5.	Bombay States	1,699,193
6.	Madras	279,383
7.	Central Provinces States	120,174
8.	Central India Agency	111,312
9.	Mysore State	83,914
10.	Madras States	39,819
11.	Baroda State	38,583
12.	Assam	6,660
13.	United Provinces	6,201
14.	Coorg	4,827
15.	Bengal	2,177
16.	Rajputana Agency	1,472
17.	Baluchistan	1,149

Figures below 1000 are neglected. From Assam downwards, these figures show the number of Marathas migrating under the British ægis. The extent of the Maratha conquest is visible in the first eleven tracts. Hyderabad State, Central Provinces and Berar mainly represent the conquests of the Bhoslas of Nagpur; Central India indicates the victorious progress of the Holkars, Sindias, and Pawars; Madras and Madras States represent the

* W. H. Carey's The Good Old Days of Honourable John Company, Vol. II. p 257.

[1] Alexander Gibson. F. L. S., in his preface to D. Hove's Tours No. XVI New Series selections from the records of the Bombay Government 1855 A. D.

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extent of the Tanjore branch of the Maratha power, so does Mysore to a great extent, and the Baroda State stands as the evidence of what the Gaikwar's arms could do during their palmy days. After the conquest of Salsette begins the history of the rise of the British Empire, and its struggles with rival nationalities of the West. It forms a record of Darwin's principle of the survival of the fittest. The fall of the Maratha Empire is only a part of that history. The chess board of India could be arranged to represent the fag-end of the 17th century in two sections, the Eastern or Moslem and the Western or Hindu. Karnatic (Madras), Hyderabad, Dacca, Murshidabad, Lucknow, and other petty Nabobs may be compared to the green pawns, etc.,* and Tanjore, Savantvali, Kolhapur, Satara, Baroda, Indore, and Gwalior, with Dhar, Dewas, and other minor Rajas may be compared to the red pawns, etc., on the board. The Honourable East India Company and the French were the two players or competitors for the crown of India. England played her part well and carried the palm, as is amply recorded elsewhere.

By the bye.

Re Duff's History of the Mahrattas, Vol. III, p 167, last line and foot-note,

"The sons of Filoze and Hessing by native mothers".....

"Hessing, the father, was an Englishman".....

This is incorrect. John Hessing, the father, was a Dutch man, born at Utrecht in Holland. His wife, George Hessing's mother, was formerly M'lle Anne Derridon, the sister of Major Louis Derridon of Scindhia's service and of Madame Perron. Although probably of mixed descent, a pure "native" she was not (see Compton: *Military Advanturers of Hindustan*, Higginbotham: *Men whom India has known*, and *Calcutta Review*, January 1912, article "the Hessings: Father and Son," by E. W. Madge and K. N. Dhar).

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* In English they are called Pawns, Bishops, Knights, Castles, Queens, and Kings, and in Marathi Pyàdas (Infantry men), Unts (Camel-sawars), Hattis (Elephant-riding Commandants), Vazirs (Ministers), and Rajas (Kings) respectively.

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Gup/His
History of the Marathas.

V.V.Khitale 11/10/63 31 DEC 1963
V.V.Chil 29/5/64 11/XII/64
M. Bhosekar 24/8/88

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